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THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF
SUMER AND AKKAD.

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BY

C. J. GADD, B.A.,

Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities
in the British Museum.

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NOTE.

THE acquisition of a complete and trustworthy scheme for the foundations of the oldest history of even one well-defined region in the ancient world is no mean addition to science, and perhaps only those who work in less favoured fields can duly appreciate the fortune of the Assyriologist in this important respect. Thanks to discoveries which date almost entirely from the last ten years, this claim can now be made with confidence for the early period of history in Babylonia. This short essay is an attempt to utilise the latest available material, which seems to afford sufficient indications to furnish at last an entirely connected scheme of chronology, which rests, not upon conjecture, but upon the evidence of written records, that are, in comparison, almost as old as the events which they commemorate. Nor must it be forgotten that this is due, in very great measure, to the good fortune which has attended one particular series of excavations, namely, those which have been carried on since 1888, on the site of the ancient city of Nippur, by the successive expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania. In connection with this essay on the earliest period of Babylonian chronology I reproduce

another celebrated text which has not hitherto, owing to the circumstances of its first appearance, received the careful study that its importance warrants, and I quote, *en passant*, certain other monuments illustrative of this early period.

My thanks are due, and are hereby very heartily offered, firstly, to the Trustees of the British Museum, for permission to publish the texts printed herein, and secondly, to Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, who encouraged me to publish this essay and assisted me in the work.

* * * * *

For a modification of certain statements made on pp. 29 and 37 concerning the Dynasty of Agade, I would refer to an Additional Note which appears at the end of this work.

C. J. GADD.

July 7th, 1921.

THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF SUMER AND AKKAD.

CHAPTER I.

Sources.

That the Babylonian scribes had preserved at least the chronological outline of their history from the Flood until the Persian conquest had always been inferred from the Greek tradition found in the late excerptors of Berossus. But it is only in recent years that native evidence has become available, in the fragments of standard works on chronology, which appear to have been drawn up and re-copied at the central shrine of Nippur. It is unnecessary here to do more than mention that this evidence has, until very recently, been constituted by what may be called two groups. The collection of Nippur fragments published by DR. POEBEL (*Historical Texts*) takes up the history of Babylonia immediately after the Flood, and would, if complete, have continued it to the end of the Isin Dynasty, which immediately preceded the First Dynasty of Babylon. Such, however, is the damage to the tablets that all the middle portion of the main text is completely missing, and a great gap exists between the very early Dynasty of Awan and that of Isin, which concludes the list. Other fragments (Nos. 3 and 4) stand isolated in this void with their references to the kingdoms of Agade and Gutium, but their relative position could not, without other information, have been fixed. Fortunately, some such information existed in the second of those groups of evidence mentioned above. The tablet published by FATHER SCHEIL in 1911,¹ apparently a First Dynasty extract from the Isin works at Nippur, not merely adjusted, as it were, the focus of these two early kingdoms of Agade and Gutium, but carried the chronology back three dynasties

¹ *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1911, p. 606 et seq.

beyond them, thus filling a considerable portion of the great empty space which followed the earliest kingdoms on the Nippur lists. With these materials DR. POEBEL was able to offer a provisional reconstruction of Babylonian chronology from after the Flood until the end of the Isin Dynasty.

Since the time of that publication, therefore, the position has been such as may be thus briefly summarised. Disregarding the legendary kings "before the Flood," our information began apparently with the First Dynasty "after" that event, which was assigned to the city of Kish. This was followed by a dynasty of Uruk, and this again by one of Ur, after which there existed a kingdom of Awan, though few details of it were preserved. Then came a considerable gap, over which it was obviously necessary to distribute a number of kings already known, but nothing more than conjecture could determine their place or the number of their dynasties. On the other side of this gap the list was resumed abruptly by the SCHEIL tablet at the dynasty of Akshak, and carried on, with only a slight break, to the beginning of Gutium. Of this last dynasty fragments of the names of two kings were preserved by No. 4 of *Historical Texts*, after which another, but much smaller, gap intervened before the opening of the well-known kingdom of Ur inaugurated by Ur-Engur. The position, therefore, was thus:—

(“The Flood”)
 Dynasty of Kish
 |
 of Uruk
 |
 of Ur
 |
 of Awan
 |
 (First great gap.)
 |
 Dynasty of Akshak
 |
 of Kish

of Uruk
 |
 of Agade
 |
 of Uruk
 |
 of Gutium
 |
 (Second smaller gap.)
 |
 Dynasty of Ur. (Ur-Engur)
 |
 of Isin

CHAPTER II.

The tablet B.M. 108857.

Before proceeding to any consideration of some striking new evidence which has recently appeared it is desirable to present again an important constituent of that which was already known, both to secure convenience of reference, and also to exhibit one or two points of some importance which have not hitherto received comment. The king list first published by SCHEIL in 1911, as noted above, belonged to a private collection, and was merely lent to him by the owner that he might make known the contents of a text so fundamentally important. SCHEIL subsequently discovered that the tablet, broken at the lower edge, had been dishonestly "restored" by the addition of an alien fragment, and discovered also that this attempted join had concealed traces of the name of Shar-gali-sharri, a well-known king of Agade. In view of these facts, he gave a new photographic reproduction of the tablet, accompanied by a note, in the *Révue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. IX, 69. Meantime, the tablet had also been seen and copied by M. THUREAU-DANGIN, who re-edited it with important comments in his recent work, *La Chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 59, 60. Shortly before the late war this tablet came into the possession of the British Museum, and is here re-published as the result of still further examination (Plates 1 and 2). The text may be transliterated and translated as follows:—

OBERSE.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>akšak-(x)-a</i> | <i>kalam-zi lugal-ám</i> | <i>xxx mu in-ag</i> |
| At Akshak | Kalam-zi, being king, | reigned 30 years. |
| 2. <i>Kalam-da-lu-lu</i> | | <i>xii mu in-ag</i> |
| Kalam-dalulu | | reigned 12 years. |

4 THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF SUMER AND AKKAD.

3. *ur-ur*
Ur-ur
VI *mu in-ag*
reigned 6 years.
4. *puzur-d. saĝan*
Puzur-Saĝan
XX *mu in-ag*
reigned 20 years.
5. *i-ġu-il*
Ishuil
XXIV *mu in-ag*
reigned 24 years.
6. *ġu-d. zuen dumu i-ġu-il-ge*
Gimil (?) - Sin, son of Ishuil
VII *mu in-ag*
reigned 7 years.
7. VI *lugal-e-ne mu-bi* XCIX *in-ag-eġ*
6 kings, their years that they reigned were 99.
8. *akġak-(ġi)-a bal-bi ba-ġur nam-lugal-bi ġiġ-(ġi)-ġu ba-tum*
At Akshak its rule was changed; its royalty was { carried off
unto Kish.
9. *ġiġ-(ġi)-a ġu-d. ba-u¹ lu-ġaġ-din-na suġuġ ġiġ-(ġi) mu-un-ġi-na*
At Kish Ku-Bau, hostess of a tavern, { established the
foundations of Kish. }
10. *lugal-am*
(and) being queen
C *mu in-ag*
reigned 100 years.
11. *puzur-d. zuen dumu ġu-d. ba-u-ge*
Puzur-Sin, son of Ku-Bau
XXV *mu in-ag*
reigned 25 years.
12. *ur-d. ilbaba dumu puzur-d. zuen-ge*
Ur-Ilbaba, son of Puzur-Sin
VI *mu in-ag*
reigned 6 years.
13. *zi-mu-dar*
Zimudar
XXX *mu in-ag*
reigned 30 years.

1. For the reading of *UHUKI* as *ak-sa-ak* see THUREAU-DANGIN, *Chronologie* p. 61.
2. With this king's name cf. *Lugal-da-lu*, an early king of Adab, (Banks *Bimya*, 196).
3. *Ur-ur* is actually the true reading, as suggested by THUREAU-DANGIN.
4. For *Amur* as the reading of the signs hitherto transcribed *BA-SA* see finally SCHROEDER, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIII, 55. ² *MUS* (*sa-sa-an*) *Cuneiform Texts* XXIV, 8, 11.
12. ² *ZA-NAL-NAL* to be read *il-sa-sa*; SCHROEDER, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* verschied. Inhalte. 46, 9.

14. *u-zi-wa-dar dumu zi-mu-dar-ra-ge* VI *mu in-ag*
Uzi-wadar, son of Zimudar reigned 6 years.
15. *el-mu-ti* XI *mu in-ag*
Elmuti reigned 11 years.
16. *i-mu d. šamaš* XI *mu in-ag*
Imu-Shamash reigned 11 years.
17. *na-ni-ia-aš* III *mu in-ag*
Naniah reigned 3 years.
18. VIII *lugal-e-ne mu-bi DLXXXVI in-ag-eš*
8 kings, their years that they reigned were 586.
19. *Kiš-(KI). bal-bi ba-kur nam-lugal-bi unu(g)-(KI)-šù ba-tum*
(At) Kish its rule was changed; its royalty was { carried off
unto Uruk.
20. *unu(g)-(KI)-ga lugal-zag-gi-si lugal-am XXV mu in-ag*
At Uruk Lugal-zaggissi, being king, reigned 25 years.
21. I *lugal mu-bi XXV in-ag*
1 king, his years that he reigned were 25.
22. *unu(g)-(KI)-ga bal-bi ba-kur [nam-lugal]-bi a-ga-de-(KI)-šù ba-tum*
At Uruk its rule was changed; its royalty was { carried off
unto Agade.
23. *a-ga-de-(KI)-a šar-ru-KI-in i-ba-ni nu-giš-šar*
At Agade Sharru-kin a gardener.
24. *ga-šù-dù* ur d. *ilbaba*
cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba,

17. THUREAU-DANGIN (loc. cit.) suggests *Nania zadim*, "Nania, the gem-engraver."

23. After the name of Sharru-kin there is a break in the surface and it is not possible to decide what sign was originally written. *LU* is certain, but it is extremely probable that this was preceded by something else, and the braces might indicate *šl*. The reading must, however, remain doubtful.

24. *UR d. ilbaba*, not *Š d. ilbaba*; a point of considerable significance.

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25. *lugal a-ga-de*-(KI) [*lù a-ga-de*-(KI)] *mu-un-da* (?) -*dū-a*
king of Agade, [who] build[ed Agade]
26. [*lugal-dm* ⁿ] *LV mu i* *n-ag*.
[being king] reign[ed 55 years]

25, 26. The restorations, in square brackets, are from the photographs in *The Museum Journal* of the University of Pennsylvania, Dec., 1920, 176 & 178.

REVERSE.

1. *šar-g*[*a-š-šar-ri*] *XXIV mu in-ag*
Shar-[gali-sharri] reigned 24 years
2. *a-ba-š*[*m lugal*] *a-ba-dm nu lugal*
Who [was king?] who was not king?
3. *m. i-gi-gi lugal* *m. i-mi lugal*
Igigi the king, Imi the king,
4. *m. na-nu-um lugal* *m. i-lu-lu lugal*
Nantum the king, Ilulu the king,
5. *limmu-bi* *III mu in-ag*
These four reigned 3 years.
6. *du-du* *XXI mu in-ag*
Dudu reigned 21 years.
7. *ŠU-DUR-KIB dumu du-du-ge* *xv mu in-ag*
Shadurkib (?), son of Dudu, reigned 15 years.
8. *xii lugal-e-ne mu-bi cxcvii in-ag-eš*
12 kings, their years that they reigned were 197
9. *a-ga-de*-(KI) *baš-bi* *ba-kur*
At Agade its rule was changed.

1. Restored from Poebel *Hist. Texts*. Frag. 3. Col. 8 (p. 80).

2. Restored by Poebel, *ibid.* p. 133.

5. The translation given appears the most probable, but the omission of the past plural ending -*es* from the verb is curious. *limmu* is, no doubt, regarded collectively in this instance.

7. The reading of this name is still unknown.

10. *nam-lugal-bi unu(g)-(KI)-šù* *ba-tum*
 Its royalty unto Uruk was carried off.
11. *unu(g)-(KI)-ga* *ur-nigin lugal-am III mu in-ag*
 At Uruk Ur-nigin, being king, reigned 3 years.
12. *Ur šù gígir dumu ur-nigin-ge* *VI mu in-ag*
 Ur-gigir, son of Ur-nigin reigned 6 years.
13. *Kud-da* *VI mu in-ag*
 Kud-da reigned 6 years.
14. *puzur-ì-ìlì* *V mu in-ag*
 Puzur-ìlì reigned 5 years.
15. *ur d. utu* *VI mu in ag*
 Ur-Utu reigned 6 years.
16. *v lugal-e-ne mu-bi XXVI in-ag-eš*
 5 kings, their years that they reigned were 26.
17. *unu(g) (KI)-ga bal-bi* *ba-kur*
 At Uruk its rule was changed.
18. *nam-lugal-bi ugnim gu-ti-um-(KI)-šù* *ba-tum*
 Its royalty unto the host of Gutium was carried off.

.....
šù sig-a ud XXX (KAM)
 Month of Siwan, 30th day.

12. For the reading *gígir* see now *Cuneiform Texts*, XXXV, i. 27.

CHAPTER III.

The new Philadelphia Fragment (L.)

It has been already stated that by far the most serious lacuna in our partially-recovered scheme of Babylonian chronology was that which extended from the early dynasty of Awan to that of Akshak, where the above text commences. It is therefore extremely fortunate that a recent discovery has supplemented our evidence at this very point. In the summer of 1920 a fragment from Nippur was discovered in the collections of the University Museum of Pennsylvania, and has been published with photographs and a translation by DR. LEON LEGRAIN in *The Museum Journal* of December, 1920. The supreme importance of this fragment is that it yields the middle portion of the columns of text which were missing from the main tablet (No. 2) of PORBEL. For so small a fragment, the amount of additional information which it yields is astonishing.

- (a) Three new "cities of royalty."
- (b) The position of dynasties and kings hitherto conjectural.
- (c) The first three kings of Agade in their order, and the regnal years of two.
- (d) The first four kings of Gutium.

This new text, so far as it is possible to decipher it from the photographs, runs as follows:—

OBSERVE.

Col. III.

[xxx *mu* *i*]-*ag*
reigned 30 years.

[*e-lu*]-*lu*

Elulu

[xxv] *mu* *i*-*ag*
 reigned 25 years.

[*ba*]-*lu-lu*

Balulu

[xxxvi] *mu* *i*-*ag*
 reigned 36 years.

[iv] *lugal*

4 kings

[*mu-bi* CL]xxi *ag-ag*
 their years that they reigned
 were 171.

[*uri*-(*ki*) ^{xi}*tukul*] *ba-sig*
 Ur was smitten with arms.

Col. IV.

a

iv (?) *lugal*

four kings

mu-bi MMDCCCLXXXII *i*^b-*ag*
 their years that they reigned
 were 3792.

Ki^s-(*ki*) ^{xi}*tukul* *ba-sig*

Kish was smitten with arms,

nam-lugal-bi

its royalty

ha-ma-zi-(*ki*)-*šù* *ba-tum* (f)
 was carried off to Hamazi

[*ha-ma*]-*zi*-(*ki*)-*a*

at Hamazi

.*ki* (f)-*ni-i*^s

[*lugal*]-*ām*

being king

.*i*-*ag*
 reigned ? years.

Col. V.

adab - (*ki*) - *šù ba - tum*
was carried off to Adab

adab - (*ki*) - *a*
at Adab

lugal - an - ni - mu - un - du
Lugal-anni-mundu

lugal - dm
being king

xc mu 1 - ag
reigned 90 years.

1 lugal
1 king

mu - bi xc 1 - ag
his years that he reigned
were 90.

adab - (*ki*) - *šù tukul ba - sig*
Adab was smitten with arms,

nam - lugal - bi
its royalty

ma - ri - (*ki*) - *šù ba - tum*
was carried off to Mari

ma - ri - (*ki*) - *a*
at Mari

an - pu lugal - dm
Anpu, being king,

xxx mu 1 - ag
reigned 30 years

. *ši - i* (?)

Col. VI

mu - bi xcix
their years 99

akšak - (*ki*) - *šù tukul ba - sig*
Akshak was smitten with arms

nam - lugal - bi
its royalty

Kiš - (*ki*) - *šù ba - tum*
was carried off to Kish

Kiš - (*ki*) - *a*
at Kish

puzur d. zuen,
Puzur - Sin

dumu kù d. ba - u
son of Kù - Bau

lugal - dm
being king

xxv mu 1 - ag
reigned 25 years.

ur d. ilbaba
Ur - Ilbaba

dumu puzur d. zuen
son of Puzur - Sin

.

REVERSE.

Col. VII.

[ga-šu]-dù ur ⁴ ilbaba
cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba,

lugal a-ga-de-(KI)
king of Agade

lù a-ga-de-(KI)
who Agade

mu-un-da(f)-dū-a
built,

lugal-am
being king

LV mu i-ag
reigned 55 years.

ri-mu-uš dumu šar-ru-ki-in
Rimush, son of Sharru-kin

XV mu i-ag
reigned 15 years.

ma-ni-iš-te-šu
Manishteshu

. mu i-ag
reigned . . . years.

Col. VIII.

ugnim [gu-ti-um-(KI)]
the host of Gutium

lugal nu tuk-tuk
had no king

im-bi-a v mu i-ag
Imbia reigned 5 years.

in-gi-šu
Ingishu

VII mu in-ag
reigned 7 years.

wa-ar-la-ga-ba
Warlagaba

VI mu in-ag
reigned 6 years.

ia-ar-la-ga-aš
Iarlagash

. mu i-ag
reigned . . . years.

12 THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF SUMER AND AKKAD.

Col. IX.

.....

~~XX~~ *lugal*

21 kings

mu-bi CXXIV *ud* XL *ib-ag*
their years that they reigned
were 124 and 40 days.

ugnim

the host

gu-ti-um - (*KI*)

of Gutium

ti tukul *ba-sig*

was smitten with arms.

[*nam*] - *lugal-bi*

its royalty

..... *ba-tum*

was carried off to

Col. X.

..... *gan*

[Ishme-Da]gan

..... *da-gan*

[son of Idin]-Dagan

.....

With respect to the long gap mentioned above, the position of the new fragment is readily fixed by its contents. On the Obverse, a few surviving signs from the right side of a column deal with the first kingdom of Ur, inaugurated by Mesannipada, which was the third dynasty "after the Flood." These remains belong, therefore, to Column 3 of the main text of POEBEL, and consequently the fragment supplies the middle portion of Cols. 4, 5, 6 on the Obverse, and Cols. 7, 8, 9, on the Reverse, which are entirely missing from the former tablet. This is confirmed by the fragments of a last column on the Reverse, which correspond with Col. 10 of POEBEL's text. Finally, the first lines of the last column of the Obverse on the new fragment contain the summary of that dynasty of Akshak which begins the text of the SCHIEL tablet. These facts being settled, the new Pennsylvania fragment will henceforth be quoted by the numbered columns of LEGRAIN's publication (as L. III, L. IV, etc.) and the tablet here reproduced will bear its Museum number 108857.

CHAPTER IV.

The Dynasties Kish I—Kish II.

Towards filling the gap between Awan and Akshak, the new fragment contributes the notice of four new dynasties, Kish-Hamazi - - - - Adab-Mari, these pairs standing like islands, and so creating three smaller gaps in place of one greater. The problem is, therefore, to find whether it is now possible to fill these spaces, and it is proposed to investigate this question in the following pages.

The first step is to obtain the dimensions of the task. What are the spaces that have to be filled? In the present case this is merely another form of asking what number of lines, approximately, are lost between the end of one column on the fragment and the beginning of the next. This question may be answered by proceeding from the known to the unknown. The gaps between Cois. III-IV, IV-V, and V-VI are unknown. But those between VI-VII and VII-VIII can be filled from 108857. To obtain the approximate number of lines missing from L. the given material from 108857 must be re-arranged in accordance with the practice of the L. scribe, somewhat as follows:—

Between L. VI, 12 and L. VII, 1.

<i>zi - mu - dar</i>	<i>III mu in - ag</i>	<i>XXV mu in - ag</i>
<i>XXX mu in - ag</i>	<i>VIII lugal - e - ne</i>	<i>1 lugal</i>
<i>u - si - wa - dar</i>	<i>mu - bi DLXXXVI</i>	<i>mu - bi XXV in - ag</i>
<i>dumu zi-mu-dar-ra-ge</i>	<i>in - ag - es</i>	<i>unu(g) - (KI) - ga</i>
<i>VI mu in - ag</i>	<i>Kis(KI) bal-bi ba-kur</i>	<i>bal - bi ba - kur</i>
<i>el - mu - ti</i>	<i>nam - lugal - bi</i>	<i>nam - lugal - bi</i>
<i>XI mu in - ag</i>	<i>unu(g) - (KI) - ù ba-tum</i>	<i>a-ga-de - (KI) - ù ba-tum</i>
<i>i - mu ⁴šamat</i>	<i>unu(g) - (KI) - ga</i>	<i>a-ga-de - (KI) - a</i>
<i>XI mu in - ag</i>	<i>lugal - zag - gi - si</i>	<i>šar - ru - ki - in</i>
<i>na - ni - a - aš</i>	<i>lugal - am</i>	<i>š-ba - ni nu - giš - šar</i>

As a result of this re-arrangement it has appeared that the total gap between the end of L. VI and the beginning of L. VII is about 30 lines, and might be rather more. The next space, which extends from the middle of the Agade kingdom to the beginning of Gutium, may be similarly filled from the contents of 108857. It would be tedious to repeat the actual process here, and in this case the result may be barely stated: this gap appears to comprise some 36 lines. The beginning of L. IX contains the summary of the Gutium dynasty, and here, as we do not possess the missing portions, no very precise reckoning is possible. But L. enumerated 21 kings in this dynasty, and four are preserved in Col. VIII. This would leave 17 more to be entered, and, allowing two lines to each king, we might arrive at a rough total of 34 lines missing between L. VIII-IX. The result of these calculations is that we have three spaces which contained approximately 30, 36, and 34 lines, from which the average of 33 or 34 is readily obtained, and, while there is, of course, no mathematical exactitude about these figures, they may still be sufficient to constitute a working formula. It should, perhaps, be added that, in each case, what seems to be the smallest possible number of lines has been allowed, and that the average therefore represents a minimum computation.

The next step is to apply these results to the unknown. L. III has traces belonging to the first kingdom of Ur, and L. IV deals with a kingdom of Kish, followed by that of Hamazi. Between these points there is known to be a kingdom of Awan, and it is no unreasonable conjecture that this was succeeded by Ur II. The summary of kingdoms (*Hist. Texts*, 77) gives 3 kings of Awan, and 13 kings of Ur. But, the first and third kingdoms of Ur being known to comprise 9 kings when added together, the second is seen, by mere subtraction from the total 13, to have contained four kings (*ibid.* 106). L. IV begins with a summary of 4 (?) kings of Kish. Assuming, therefore, that the order of dynasties at this point is Ur I, Awan, Ur II, Kish II, Hamazi, we may attempt a skeleton reconstruction of the text between

L. III-IV, and test the assumption by the figures already obtained:—

Between L. III, 8 and L. IV. •

<i>nam-lugal-bi</i>	<i>uri-(KI)-šù ba-tum</i>
<i>a-wa-an-(KI)-šù ba-tum</i>	<i>uri-(KI)-ma - - - etc.</i>
<i>a-wa-an-(KI)-na</i>	8 lines for 4 kings
6 lines for 3 kings	2 " summary of Ur II
III <i>lugal</i>	4 " transfer to Kish II
<i>mu-bi CCCLVI ib-ag</i>	8 " for 4 kings of Kish II.
<i>a-wa-an-(KI)-^{sa}-tukul ba-sig</i>	Total: 37 lines.
<i>nam-lugal-bi</i>	

In view of this so-far satisfactory result, it is necessary only to add that the sole member of this group of dynasties which is still entirely submerged in the missing portion of the lists is Ur II, and that the placing of it in this position must, to that extent, be regarded as conjectural. But the risks of error do not appear very serious. There are, of course, three possible alternatives for the position of Ur II:—

- (a) between Kish III—Adab.
- (b) " Mari—Akshak.
- (c) " Gutium—Ur III (*i.e.*, the Ur-Engur dynasty).

The last of these possibilities is much discounted by the rise, so soon after, of the powerful and all-embracing empire of Ur-Engur and his successors; it is hardly likely that this had been preceded, within the limit of so few years, by an earlier kingdom of Ur. In addition to this it will be argued, in the proper place, that there is no room for another dynasty in this interval. With regard to (a), it is hoped to show that we dispose of ample material to occupy the space between Kish III and Adab without introducing Ur II at this point. The second possibility certainly remains open; in that space occurs the dynasty of Mari, of uncertain length, and the known dynasty of Akshak, comprising six kings. Whether, therefore, there is room

for another dynasty between these depends entirely on the length of the Mari kingdom, which is at present un-ascertainable. In these circumstances it does not seem unfair to refer to the calculations attempted above; it there appeared that the insertion of Ur II would account for space on the tablet which accorded very well with the other evidence. The decision between the gaps Awan—Kish II and Mari—Akshak as claimants for the dynasty Ur II is therefore a decision between some evidence and none, and it is justifiable to pronounce in favour of the first claimant, though with all due reserve. The investigation, therefore, has now reached the point of arranging the earliest dynasties thus:—

Kish I—Uruk I—Ur I—Awan—Ur II—Kish II.

CHAPTER V.

Ḥamazi to Uruk II.

With this last dynasty comes a momentary foothold on firm ground; we are now, for a moment, in the light of L. IV, which exhibits a dynasty of Kish (II) succeeded by that of Ḥamazi. The latter is an entirely new revelation, and completes the list of the "eleven cities of royalty" summarised in *Historical Texts*, p. 78, Adab and Mari having been already conjectured by POEBEL on reasonable grounds, though these also lacked confirmation before the discovery of L. The duration of the Ḥamazi kingdom is lost, for L preserves only part of the name of one king. Nevertheless it is probable that this kingdom actually comprised only one king, who reigned for seven years. The enumeration of kingdoms in *Hist. Texts*, p. 77, is broken after Awan, but retains the information that the next hegemony was unique in the city which held it, and that it was exercised by one king who reigned for seven years. POEBEL has shown (*ibid.*, p. 99) that "the enumeration corresponds to the order in which the various cities first became seats of kings of Babylonia." If the results hitherto obtained are at all correct, the next *new* (i.e., hitherto unmentioned) seat of a dynasty after Awan is precisely Ḥamazi, and it is natural, therefore, to assign the "one king for seven years" to this city. The position of Ḥamazi is unknown, unless it be possible to identify it with the Ḥamaši or Ḥamši mentioned in the inscription of Eri-Nanna, a governor of Lagash in the reign of Gimil-Sin, king of Ur.¹ In this instance it is brought into close connexion with the cities of Urbillum and Ganḥar, which occur so frequently in the date-formulae as the enemies of Dungi and his successor, and would consequently have to be sought in the immediate

¹ *Revue d'Assyriologie* V, 99, and VI, 67.

neighbourhood of these Elamite cities. If this be so, Hamazi would represent a second Elamite domination, Awan having been the first. Apart from this, I am aware of only one other occurrence of the name, but this in a singularly interesting connexion which may provide a starting point for an attempt to bridge the next gulf in the records. Two fragments of a vase from Nippur¹ bear part of a dedication to the god Ilbaba by Utug, *patesi* of Kish, who calls himself "Smiter (?) of Hamazi." This, then, is perhaps an echo of the overthrow of the city, and, if so, we might proceed to infer that Hamazi was succeeded by a third dynasty of Kish. It is true that Utug does not claim the style of "king" in this inscription but merely that of *patesi*, and it might be held that this disqualifies him as the possible founder of a dynasty. But it has yet to be shown that the use of these titles affords a rigid distinction; certainly, the members of Ur-Nina's line at Lagash had no formal right to the style of "king" which several of them affected, and Utug may well have continued, in the early days of his new-won power, the humble title which he had borne under the sovereignty of Hamazi. If, then, it be permissible to regard Utug as the first member of a Kish III dynasty, some of his successors may be readily supplied, — Mesilim, Ur-zag-è, Lugal-tarsi, and Enbi-Ishtar. But the last is known (*Hist. Texts*, 151) to have been defeated and captured by Enshakushanna of Uruk, which city is, therefore, the successor of Kish III. To this dynasty of Uruk (II) are generally assigned the early monarchs Lugal-kigubni-dudu and Lugal-kisal-si, but in all these cases the lists give no help, and the assignments are made chiefly upon epigraphical grounds or as the result of other historical indications.

It is unfortunate that the evidence which can be extracted from the summaries is not very satisfactory for these dynasties of Kish III and Uruk II. The total of 51 kings of Kish is itself uncertain, and so is the summary of 4 or (6) kings for Kish II. But Kish I comprised 23 kings, and Kish IV (dynasty of Ku-Bau)

¹ Published by HELPRECHT, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Nos. 108 and 109.

8 kings, according to 108857, though L. ignores Ku-Bau herself. Consequently :—

Total kings	} 51	Kish I	— 23	} 34 or 37.
of Kish		Kish II	— 4 or 6	
		Kish IV	— 7 or 8	

and therefore, by subtraction, Kish III had 17 or 14 kings. That it was a long dynasty is probable from the comparatively large number of early Kish rulers who are known to us by name. With regard to Uruk II, although the number of kings in the Uruk I dynasty is uncertain, the conclusion of POEBEL (*Hist. Texts*, p. 107) is that "in no case can we assume more than four missing kings for the second and fifth dynasties." If Enshaku-shanna, Lugal-kigubni-dudu, and Lugal-kisal-si composed Uruk II, it would follow that Uruk V consisted of Utu-ḫegal alone; nor is this improbable, but the question does not arise here and may be postponed to its own place. The position is, therefore, that a long dynasty of Kish and a short one of Uruk are to be placed after Hamazi, and these appear sufficient to fill the gap which occurs in L. before Adab. Having thus reached the second "island," we may again set out the result of the investigation up to this point :—

Kish I—Uruk I—Ur I—Awan—Ur II—Kish II
—Hamazi—Kish III—Uruk II.

CHAPTER VI.

Adab, Mari, Akshak, and Kish IV.

The record is now taken up by L. V, which here begins a kingdom of Adab inaugurated by Lugal-anni-mundu, who is said to have been the sole king of his dynasty and to have reigned for 90 years. This king is known from a later copy of one of his inscriptions published as text No. 75 in POEBEL's collection. The statement that he reigned for 90 years is, however, both improbable in itself, and not in accordance with the trend of other evidence which we possess. The site of Adab is now known to be the modern Bismya, from which BANKS, during his excavations, recovered a stone statue with an archaic inscription¹ stating that the figure represented one Lugal-da-lu, king of Adab. He found also a vase bearing a similar legend,² but this time with the name of Me-shi-?, also a king of Adab. There seems reason to suppose that both these rulers, and possibly others, belong to the dynasty inaugurated by Lugal-anni-mundu, and that L. is incorrect in assigning to one king so unusual a length of reign. It may, however, be admitted that we cannot tell whether there was not another dynasty of Adab somewhat later, in the gap between Mari and Akshak. If there was, Lugal-da-lu and Me-shi-? might have belonged to it; nevertheless, the reign of 90 years attributed to Lugal-anni-mundu is highly suspicious, and very probably has incorporated the years of other kings whose names have been, by some mischance, lost from the record.

Adab, we learn from L. V, was succeeded by a dynasty of Mari, a city on the middle Euphrates, just below the confluence of the Habur, from which came also, in later times, Ishbi-Irra, the founder of the Isin dynasty. Unfortunately, L. V breaks off at

¹ BANKS, *Bismya*, p. 196.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

the very beginning of the Mari kings, giving only the first of them, Anpu,¹ who reigned 30 years, and a few traces of his successor. A broken statuette in the British Museum bears a fragmentary inscription² of — Shamash, king of Mari, who may also be assigned to this dynasty. Of its total length, however, we have no evidence at all, as the summary (*Hist. Texts*, p. 77) is also broken away. For the third gap (between Mari — Akshak) we are therefore left without any guide. Practically the whole of the Akshak dynasty, as known from 108857, occurs within this gap, for L. VI opens with its concluding summary. This would account for a considerable part of the available-space, but whether anything intervened between the end of Mari and the beginning of Akshak depends entirely on the length of Mari, which is unknown. The possibility has already been noted (p. 15) that Ur II might occur in this place. But, while withholding judgment, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we shall assume that no other kingdom did intervene between these two. It is, however, fairly clear that in this period there has to be placed the local line of Ur-Nina and his successors at Lagash, though it is not necessary to hold that Eannadu was ever recognised as *lugal* of all Babylonia, reigning at Kish. Indeed, the four "kingdoms" which the summary allows to Kish are already accounted for; three have been passed in the preceding pages, and the fourth is that of Ku-Bau, which succeeded Akshak.

From this point onwards to the beginning of Gutium, except for a break in the middle of Agade, we are in the fuller light of 108857, which, though presenting a connected text, is not without difficulties of its own. The dynasty of Kish IV, founded by Ku-Bau, succeeds that of Akshak both in 108857 and in L. This passage, in the former, has been a well-known crux since its first discovery owing to its very singular arithmetic, and the length of reign attributed to the first ruler, a queen who is said to have risen from a tavern to the throne. Eight monarchs composed

¹ The reading of this name is, of course, doubtful.

Cuneiform Texts V, 12146.

this dynasty, and the scribe of 108857, adding up their total of years, obtains the incredible result of 5861. Actually, the sum of the eight reigns, even including the impossible 100 years of Ku-Bau, amounts to no more than 192. Several ingenious attempts have been made to explain this extraordinary aberration, but none can be described as entirely convincing, and the confusion is now increased by L., which ignores the reign of Ku-Bau altogether, though it mentions her as mother of the succeeding king. Unfortunately, L. does not continue to the end of the dynasty and therefore throws no light upon the curious total given by 108857. In these circumstances it seems most prudent to acknowledge the difficulty, and to recognise that there existed at this point some confusion in the records which will scarcely be explained without further discoveries.

CHAPTER VII.

The reigns of Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon.

Kish IV, the tablet continues, was succeeded by a kingdom of Uruk (III), the sole member of which was Lugal-zaggisi, who reigned 25 years. This celebrated monarch was known, before the discovery of 108857, as a subject of a long archaic inscription engraved on vases dedicated at Nippur, and also as a governor of Umma, who sacked the city of Lagash under Urukagina, its last king. Since that time the *Historical Inscriptions* of POEBEL have revealed a number of new facts concerning him, particularly that he was defeated and captured by the even more celebrated Sargon (Sharru-kin), founder of the succeeding dynasty of Agade. It is unnecessary to re-emphasise the great interest of the details which the tablet furnishes concerning Sargon of Agade. Though the meaning of the signs immediately following his name must still remain obscure owing to uncertainty of reading, he is clearly described as having been "a gardener," and this is in accordance with the "Legend of Sargon,"¹ which tells how the infant was launched on the Euphrates by his mother and rescued by Akki, the irrigator, who brought him up and made him a gardener. Further, a fragment of a history of Sargon, published by SCHÉIL in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* XIII, 176, states that he "grew up among the cattle." The next information given by 108857 is even more interesting — the young Sargon was "cupbearer of Ur-Ilbaba." The tablet has hitherto been misread in this place, and translated "cupbearer in the temple of Ilbaba." But the sign is quite clearly UR, not Ê, as I have for some time been aware, and this reading is now confirmed by L. But to translate it "devotee of Zamama," with LEGRAIN, does not appear a natural

¹ *Cuneiform Texts* XIII, 42, 43.

interpretation; Ur-Ilbaba is clearly a proper name. Nor have we far to seek its bearer. Ur-Ilbaba, son of Puzur-Sin, grandson of Ku-Bau, was the third king of the preceding Kish IV dynasty and reigned 6 years. The record therefore appears to state definitely that Sargon, in his youth, was cupbearer, a favourite retainer, of this former king. The importance of this statement, accepted at its face value, is considerable, owing to the synchronism it provides. Nevertheless, it seems to involve great difficulty, as may be seen by a simple calculation. The remaining kings of Kish, after Ur-Ilbaba, reigned $30 + 6 + 11 + 11 + 3 = 61$ years altogether, and were succeeded by Lugal-zaggisi, with a reign of 25 years. The latter was defeated by Sargon, who became king and reigned 55 years (according to L.). Sargon, therefore, continued as a subject for $61 + 25$ years, then became king and reigned 55 more. Even had he been only 10 years old at the death of Ur-Ilbaba, this would give him an age of $10 + 61 + 25 + 55 = 151$ years! This, then, is a *reductio ad absurdum*; the explanation must manifestly be sought by some other means. And there seems to be only one possibility. It is no longer a new discovery that the Babylonian scribes have in several instances conveyed a wrong impression by arranging in succession dynasties which were actually in part contemporary. Thus, the dynasty of Isin synchronised not merely with that of Larsa (which has not yet appeared in the connected dynastic lists) but also partly with the First Dynasty of Babylon, which began to rule not much later than the middle of the Isin kingdom.¹ Subsequently, the king lists exhibit the Second Dynasty as following immediately upon the First; it has long been known, however, that Iluma-ilum, the founder of the Second Dynasty, was not the successor of Samsu-ditana, but the contemporary of Samsu-iluna.² In view of these familiar instances it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the same process is at work between the dynasties of Kish IV, Uruk III, and Agade, and that both Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon must have set up as independent rulers while the dynasty of

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN, *Chronologie*, p. 47.² KING, *Chronicles II*, 20.

Kish IV still existed. In support of this, it is possible to quote the fragment mentioned above (p. 23) which, after referring to a king of Kish, continues "to change the rule of his royalty, to prolong the ruin of his palace, Enlil, by his holy decree, irrevocably resolved; in his place (came) Sharrum-kin." No mention is made of Lugal-zaggisi intervening between the rule of Kish and Agade, but Sargon is exhibited as the direct successor of the kings of Kish, and, when the story is taken up again, he appears at the head of a rival power offering hostile provocations to Lugal-zaggisi as the prelude to a war in which he was finally victorious. At what precise time these revolts of Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon from their loyalty to Kish took place it is, of course, impossible to say. But it may be pointed out, even if it be no more than a coincidence, that the 25 years of Lugal-zaggisi correspond exactly with the reigns of the last three kings at Kish ($11 + 11 + 3$), and one might conjecture that Lugal-zaggisi proclaimed his independence upon the death of Uzi-wadar, but lacked either the desire or the means to dispossess the dynasty of Kish, which continued until its own city and that of Lugal-zaggisi came simultaneously under the rule of Sargon. The 55 years of the latter would seem to include the whole time that he reigned in his own city, not merely the period in which he was supreme in Babylonia; for, even if the rule of Lugal-zaggisi be wholly contained in the last years of Kish IV, Sargon must have been some 70 years old at the fall of that dynasty, and, though it is known that he lived to be an aged man, we cannot venture to add another 55 years to his life.



CHAPTER VIII.

Stories concerning Sargon.

The detail which exhibits Sargon as cupbearer to a former king, and as rising from this office to the throne, is an addition *eiusdem generis* to the stories of his humble birth in which all our other sources concur. This somewhat naïve romance of the menial become king must have had a peculiar fascination for the Babylonians; one of the earliest rulers "after the Flood," Arpi, is said to have been "son of a plebeian"—Queen Ku-bau had been a publican—Irra-imitti, ninth king of Isin, set the crown upon the head of Enlil-bani, his gardener.¹ Better known than these are the very similar stories which are told about a later hero, Cyrus, the Persian. The circumstantial narrative of Herodotus (I, 107–130), which makes Cyrus the grandson of Astyages, and relates how his life was secretly saved from the king's jealousy by an oxherd who was charged to expose the child in the desert, is probably derived through the Median house of Harpagus from Babylonian sources. Even this account of the unexpected preservation of Cyrus is reminiscent of the rescue of the infant Sargon from the Euphrates by Akki the irrigator. But Ctesias had a version of the early days of Cyrus even more characteristic of its Mesopotamian origin, and, in view of its striking parallelism with the present story concerning Sargon, it may be worth while to translate a part of this version, which survives only in a long fragment of the later historian Nicolaus Damascenus (No. 66 in C. MÜLLER'S *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, Vol. III, p. 397):—

"In Asia, upon the death of the Median king, his son Astyages succeeded to his throne. Report says that he was the most valiant man after Arbaces. It was during his

¹ KING, *Chronicles* II, 12.

reign that there occurred the great revolution by which the sovereignty of the Medes passed to the Persians. The reason was this. There was a custom among the Medes that if a poor man went to a wealthy man for maintenance, offering himself to be fed and clothed, he should be considered as a slave of the latter. If, however, the host should not provide these, the suppliant might betake himself to another. Now a boy named Cyrus, a Mardian by birth, came thus to one of the king's servants, who was set over the palace cleaners. Cyrus was the son of Atradata, a bandit through stress of poverty, whose wife Argoste, the mother of Cyrus, made her living as a goatherd. Cyrus, then, hired himself to this officer for maintenance; he cleaned the palace and was industrious. His master, therefore, gave him a better garment and brought him from among the outside cleaners to those who cleaned inside, in the king's apartments, and placed him with the master of these servants. This man, however, was so cruel, and beat Cyrus so often, that he deserted him for the torch-bearer, who took a fancy to him, and brought him near the king to be one of his personal torch-bearers. Here, too, he was distinguished, and now passed on to Artembares, the chief of the cup-bearers, who actually held the cup for the king to drink. Artembares received him gladly, and bade him pour out wine for the king's guests. Not long afterwards, when Artembares was watching him serving well and adroitly, and offering the cup gracefully, the king asked Artembares whence came the boy, adding, "How nicely he serves the wine!" "Master," replied Artembares, "he is thy slave, a Persian by birth, and of the Mardians, who hath delivered himself to me for maintenance." Now Artembares was old, and it chanced that he took a fever, so that he besought the king to let him go to his own house until he should be recovered. "And in my place," he said, "this boy (meaning Cyrus) whom thou approvest, shall serve thy wine. And, for that I am an eunuch, I will also make him my son, if his service be

pleasing to thee, his master." Astyages assenting, Artembares departed with many directions to Cyrus and many kindnesses as to his own son. Cyrus now stood beside the king, offered his cup, served his wine by night and day, and discovered much discretion and courage. Artembares died of his sickness after adopting Cyrus as his son, and Astyages bestowed on him, as son, the whole of Artembares' substance, and many gifts as well, so that he was by now a great man, and his name was noised abroad."

It is evident that these are genuine folk-stories, and they may, without hesitation, be pronounced to be of Babylonian origin; the young Cyrus is merely a double of the young Sargon, both being of true plebeian origin, both miraculously saved in their infancy, both employed in the service of a former king, both actually his cupbearers, and both destined to reign in their master's stead. There is, of course, nothing to indicate what degree of historical truth underlies these stories in either instance.

CHAPTER IX.

Agade to Isin.

The dynasty of Agade is continued by Rimush and Manishtusu, whose order is now definitely settled by L., to which we are also indebted for the 15 years of Rimush. After Manishtusu another break occurs, so that the name of the king who intervened between him and Naram-Sin is still missing. As, however, there are only 10 or 20 years (the variation depends on the question whether Naram-Sin reigned 54 or 44 years) to divide between Manishtusu and the unknown, and as the former was himself a powerful and important king, the reign of the unknown was probably short. With the exception of this king's name, and some doubt about the lengths of certain reigns, the dynasty of Agade is now recovered in outline. As regards the last king, it has been thought worth while to reproduce, at the end of this essay (Plate 3), a copy of the sole monument hitherto assignable to him. The text is identical with that published by M. POIGNON in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, p. 418, but it is difficult to say whether the object upon which it is inscribed is actually the one which he saw in Baghdad. In the present case the text is taken from a hammer-head of dark green marble, measuring 4 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and pierced through the middle with a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. The shape is an elongated ellipse with the ends unflattened, both edges are chamfered, and the whole very carefully

finished, the inscription beginning on the top chamfer, extending down one side, and ending on the lower chamfer and base:—

a-na né-unu-gal a-na na-pit-si¹ ŠU-DUR-KIB²
šar-ri a-ga-de-(ki) LA-BA-eritum(sum)³
šabru bitim A-MU-RU (= išruq).

"To Nergal, for the life of Shudurkib (?), king of Agade,
 Laba (?)-erishum, the palace soothsayer, has dedicated this."

At the fall of the Agade Dynasty, the hegemony in Babylonia passed to an undistinguished line of five kings who ruled for 26 years in Uruk as the fourth dynasty of that city. Nothing is known of these beyond what appears in 108857; their names, their regnal years, and the fact that their rule was cut short by the "host of Gutium," to which the sovereignty passed. At this point 108857 ends abruptly, but POEBEL's texts contain a summary of the Gutian Dynasty, giving a total of 21 kings who reigned 125 years and 40 days, while L. computes 124 years and 40 days. But, whereas the dynasty has almost completely disappeared from the former, L. preserves the names of the first four kings, prefaced with the curious statement that "the host of Gutium had no king," which presumably means that no single authority was recognised until the hordes settled in Babylonia. The names of the third and fourth kings contain a common element—*ar-la-ga*—which reappears in the inscription⁴ of Nammahni, a governor of Umma, who records his building of a temple in his own city at the time "when Iarlagan was king of Gutium" (*u(d)-ba-lar-la-ga-an lugal gu-ti-um-kam*).⁵ It may not be too venturesome

¹ Probably a metathesis for *napistu*, *napistu*. The same phrase occurs in an inscription of Naram-Sin (published by SCHEIL, *Textes akkadiens-sémitiques* III, 6), which is closely parallel with the present text. There seems no need to assume identity with the *na-si-su* of CLAY (*Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 18) unless *pit* be there accidentally omitted.

² The king's name is of uncertain reading.

³ The third sign of this name is *KAM* and *eritum(sum)* is therefore the probable reading. *LA-BA* may also be an ideogram (cf. BRÜNNOW, 988).

⁴ CLAY, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 13.

⁵ With this may be compared a similar date referring to Siliu, king of Gutium (SCHEIL, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie*, 1911, p. 319, ll. 14, 15).

to identify this Iarlagan with Iarlagash, the fourth king of Gutium, according to L. After this name L. is broken, and the next column preserves only the summary of the dynasty, and the statement of its downfall, but not the name of the city to which its power passed. Finally, L. X has traces belonging to the Dynasty of Isin. What is to be inserted in this last remaining gap? Some uncertainty still exists on this head. Isin is well known to have been the successor of the celebrated Dynasty of Ur (III) which was constituted by 5 kings reigning for 117 years. On the other hand, we have external information that the Gutians were expelled from Babylonia by one Utu-ḫegal, king of Uruk,¹ and this is in accord with the summaries, which give 5 kingdoms of Uruk; that of Utu-ḫegal is therefore the fifth, four having been already enumerated. The uncertainty is now narrowed down to the question whether there was yet another dynasty between those of Uruk and Ur. It may be said at once that this appears unlikely. POEBEL had formerly proposed (*Hist. Texts*, 93) to insert a second kingdom of Adab at this point, but Lugal-anna-mundu is shown by L. to belong to the first Dynasty of Adab, and there are now no grounds for assuming any domination of that, or either of the other, "cities of royalty" beyond what has already been taken into account. In these circumstances, the only remaining question concerns the number of kings and the duration of Utu-ḫegal's dynasty (Uruk V). First, then, let it be recalled that POEBEL has concluded, from examination of the main text, that no more than four kings are available for distribution between Uruk II and V. It has, however, seemed probable that Uruk II was composed of 3 kings, Enshakushanna, Lugal-kigubni-dudu, and Lugal-kisal-si, in which case one only, Utu-ḫegal himself, would be left for Uruk V. Further, by reconstructing the text backwards from L. X through the Dynasty of Ur, including the necessary formulae at the beginning and end of dynasties, it will be found that the space left is sufficient only for a very short

¹ For the inscription commemorating his triumph, see THUREAU-DANGIN in *Revue d'Assyriologie* IX, 111-120, and X, 99, 100.

dynasty, probably of no more than one or two kings. Finally, the contemporary history of Lagash supplies some measure of collateral evidence. In the time of Dungi, second king of Ur III, a certain Ur-Ningirsu, high-priest of Nina, is mentioned on a votive wig of black diorite dedicated to the goddess Bau, and it has long been held, with the greatest probability, that this person is identical with Ur-Ningirsu, the son of Gudea, who calls himself "beloved priest of Nina" in one of his own brick inscriptions.¹ But the activity and semi-independence of Gudea, which permitted him even to embark upon a private military expedition against Anshan,² shews that at least some part of his reign must have lain in a period when there was no universally predominant power in Babylonia, and it is the period between the fall of Gutium and the rise of Ur which best corresponds with these conditions. It has already been mentioned (p. 30) that Nammahni, a *patesi* of Umma, was in all probability a contemporary of the fourth king of Gutium. But Nammahni was also the name of a *patesi* of Lagash, son-in-law of Ur-Bau, and predecessor of Gudea by a time which would appear to have embraced several generations, during which the names of four other *patesis* of Lagash are known. Umma was the near neighbour and ancient rival of Lagash, and it does not seem an impossible assumption that the two Nammahni's were identical, one man combining the rule of both cities either by conquest or consent. The fourth king of Gutium reigned about 100 years before the end of his dynasty, and, if the identification proposed might be accepted, this would tend again to fix the date of Gudea during the latter years and after the fall of the Gutian Dynasty. But the son of Gudea was, as it has appeared, a contemporary of Dungi, the second king of Ur. All evidence, therefore, seems to agree in indicating that the Dynasty of Uruk V was short, and that no very considerable gap intervened between the defeat of Gutium and the formation of Ur-Engur's kingdom.

¹ *Discoveries in Chaldée II*, Pl. 37, No. 8.

² Gudea, Statue B. VI, 64-69.

CHAPTER X.

A new text of Libit-Ishtar.

With the Dynasty of Isin, which succeeded Ur III, and is mentioned in the fragments of L. X, this chronological survey may fitly close. It has, however, seemed worth while to insert, at this point, an inscription of Libit-Ishtar, fifth king of that dynasty, not because it has any historical value, but because of its interest as being only the second inscription of this king as yet recovered. Unlike the first (best represented in CLAY, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 27), it is written in Akkadian, and deals with a different event. The text (Plate 3), which is copied from two small clay cones in the British Museum,¹ may be transcribed and rendered as follows:—

- Col. 1. (1) *li-bi-it-istar* (2) *ri-i-um* (3) *pa-li-iḫ* (4) *nippurim*-(KI)
 Libit-Ishtar, the shepherd who feareth Nippur,
- (5) *i-ka-ru-um* (6) *ki-nu-um* (7) *ša uri*-(KI)-*im*
 the constant waterer of Ur,
- (8) *la mu-pa-ar-ki-um* (9) *a-na eridi*-(KI) (10) *bēl-um*
 that ceaseth not his care for Eridu, the lord,
- (11) *zi-ma-at* (12) *unu(g)*-(KI) (13) *šar i-si-in*-(KI)
 the adornment of Uruk, the king of Isin,
- (14) *šar ma-at* (15) *šu-me-ri-im* (16) *ù a-ga-ti-im*
 king of the land of Sumer, and Akkad,
- (17) *bī-bī-il* (18) *li-i-ba ištār* (19) *a-na-ku* (20) *ga-ni-in*
 the beloved of the heart of Ishtar, am I A ?
- (21) *bī-bī-il* (22) *i-ti a. bēlim* (23) *ù a. bēltim (ti-im)*
 beloved of the hand of Bēl and Bēltu,

¹ The writer has also seen several further examples in private possession.

Col. II.	(1) <i>i-na ì-si-in</i> (KI) in Isin	(2) <i>a-al šar-ru-ti-ja</i> my royal city,
(3) <i>i-na ð-ab ekallim</i> (im) at the palace-gate,	(4) <i>d li-bi-it ištār</i> Libit-Ishtar,	(5) <i>ma-ru</i> ⁴ <i>bēlim</i> the son of Bēl,
(6) <i>a-na-ku</i> even I,	(7) <i>i-nu-mi</i> — when	(8) <i>ki-i-ta-am</i> justice
(9) <i>i-na ma-at</i> in the land	(10) <i>šū-me-ri-im</i> of Sumer	(11) <i>ù a-ga-ti-im</i> and Akkad
(12) <i>aš-ku-nu-ni</i> I had established —	(13) <i>e-pu-uš</i> did build.	

Col. I. 20. The meaning of this word, which describes the king's construction, appears doubtful. *ganunu* is found in *Cuneiform Texts* XII. 27 (81-7-27, 200. Rev. 21), but is there also of uncertain meaning, though it is indicated that the ideogram explained was GÁ+NUN. This composite sign actually appears in an unpublished inscription of Enannadu I (B.M. 114399), who there says that he built a *ganunmaš* for the god Lugal-Erim. The word is tentatively rendered "bed-chamber" by Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, p. 216. But, in view of POEBEL, *Historical Texts*, No. 6, 9, where it is related that one Annani built the *giš-sar-maš* of Enlil at Nippur, it seems possible to compare the Arabic *ḡunānah*, 'garden.'

It will be observed that the first part of the inscription, containing the royal titles, is merely an Akkadian translation of the corresponding lines in the Sumerian. But linguistically the most interesting point is the phonetic complement in Col. I, 23, ⁴ *NIN-LIL* (*ñ-im*), which points unequivocally to the reading *bēlim*. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that, under the Isin Dynasty, the divine names Enlil and Ninlil were pronounced Bēl and Bēltu respectively by the Semitic speakers. The cones which bear this text are clearly derived from the site of Isin, which is still unknown, and it is a matter of regret that in no case has it been possible to acquire any information as to their provenance.

CHAPTER XI.

Rim-Sin of Larsa and Rim-Sin of Ashūr.

Attention may perhaps be directed to one more curious circumstance, before closing this survey of the early Babylonian dynasties. The city of Isin is now known to have been confronted, throughout its period of nominal supremacy, by the rival power of Larsa, and finally to have been vanquished by the arms of Rim-Sin. But by this time a third claimant to the hegemony had appeared, and the fall of Isin merely brought Larsa face to face with the rising strength of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The founder of this dynasty, Sumu-abum, was known from a chronicle¹ to have been a contemporary of Ilushuma, one of the early kings of Assyria, and later information² adds that Ilushuma's successor, Irishum I, was the contemporary of Sumu-la-ilu, the successor of Sumu-abum. Three more kings reign at Babylon, and then comes Hammurabi, who, as is well known, defeated Rim-Sin of Larsa. But, after four successors of Irishum I at Ashur, the throne of that city is also occupied by a king bearing the name of Rim-Sin! That is to say, that the cities of Ashur and Larsa must have been ruled at almost precisely the same time by kings of the same name. It is not intended to suggest that identity is to be assumed. There is no warrant for any such inference, and, indeed, the date-list of Rim-Sin of Larsa, which may be trusted to reflect the more notable events of his reign, makes no reference to any enterprise beyond the limits of southern Babylonia. In these circumstances, the identity in the names of contemporary rulers between two cities so far separated as Ashur and Larsa might be considered simply as a remarkable coincidence. But it is worthy of note that Ashur had, before this, acknowledged the suzerainty of Bur-Sin I, and is also known to have been under the control of Hammurabi. Neither of these kings appear, however, in the list of actual Assyrian rulers.

¹ KING, *Chronicles* II, 14.

² SCHROEDER, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXXIII, 58.

TABLE OF EARLY DYNASTIES. AFTER THE FLOOD.

FIRST KINGDOM OF KISH		KINGDOM OF AWAN	
Euêchios ¹ ,	2,400 years	3 kings	356 years
Chomasbêlos	2,700 "	SECOND KINGDOM OF UR	
(6 kings unknown)		4 kings	108 years
Galunum	900 "	SECOND KINGDOM OF KISH	
Zugagib	840 "	4 (or) 6 kings	3,792 years
Arpi (son of a plebeian)	720 "	KINGDOM OF HAMAZI	
Etana (a shepherd),	635(?) "	1 king	7 years
?	410 "	THIRD KINGDOM OF KISH	
Enmenunna,	611 "	Utug	
Melam-Kish	900 "	Mesilim	
Barsalnunna	1,200 "	Ur-zag-e	
(7 doubtful names)		Lugal-tarsi	
23 kings	18,000 + years, 3 months, 3 days	Enbi-Ishtar	
FIRST KINGDOM OF URUK		(and other kings)	
Meskingasher,	325 years	(Summary doubtful)	
Enmerkar	420 "	SECOND KINGDOM OF URUK	
Lugal-banda (the shepherd)	1,200 "	Enshakushanna	
Dumuzi (the hunter)	100 "	Lugal-kigubni-dudu	
Gilgamish	126(?) "	Lugal-kisal-si	
(several more kings)		3 (?) kings	
(Summary uncertain)		KINGDOM OF ADAB	
FIRST KINGDOM OF UR		Lugal-anna-mundu	90(?) years
Mesannipada,	80 years	Lugal-da-lu	
Meskiagnunna	30 "	Me-shi	
Elulu	25 "	(number of kings doubtful)	
Balulu	36 "	90 years	
4 kings	171 "		

¹ A comma following a name indicates that the king was succeeded by his son.

TABLE OF EARLY DYNASTIES. AFTER THE FLOOD. 37

KINGDOM OF MARI

Anpu 30 years
(and other kings)

(summary doubtful)

Ur-Nina
of Lagash (?)

KINGDOM OF AKSHAK

Kalam-zi	30 years
Kalam-dalulu	12 "
Ur-ur	6 "
Puzur-Sahan	20 "
Ishuil,	24 "
Gimil Sin	7 "
6 kings	99 "

FOURTH KINGDOM OF
KISH

KINGDOM OF
AGADE

Ku-Bau, ? years

Shar-ru-kin, 55 years

Puzur-Sin, 25 "

Urukagina

Ur-Ilbaba 6 "

Zimudar, 30 "

THIRD KINGDOM OF
URUK

Uziwadar 6 "

Elmuti 11 "

Imi-Shamash 11 "

Lugal-zaggisi 25 years

Nania 3 "

8 kings 92+ years 1 king 25 years

Rimush 15 years

Manishtusu (?)

(?)

Naram-Sin 44 (?) 54) years

Shar-gali-sharri 24 "

Igigi. Imi. } 3 "

Nanum. Elulu. }

Dudu, 21 "

Shudurkib (?) 15 "

12 kings 197 "

FOURTH KINGDOM OF URUK

Ur-nigin	3 years
Ur-gigir	6 "
Kudda	6 "
Puzur-ili	5 "
Ur-Utu	6 "
5 kings	26 "

KINGDOM OF GUTIUM

Imbia	5 years	
Ingishu	7 "	
Warlagaba	6 "	
Iarlagash	? "	———— Nammahni of Umma
(17 more kings, including :—		(and Lagash ?)
Erridu-pizir		
Lasirab		
Sium		
Saratigubisin		
Tirigan)		
21 kings	124(? 5) years, 40 days	

Gudea,
of Lagash

FIFTH KINGDOM OF URUK

Utu-hegal

(Summary doubtful)

THIRD KINGDOM OF UR

Ur-Engur	18 years	
Dungi	58 "	———— Ur-Ningirsu, son of Gudea
		of Lagash
Bur-Sin I	9 "	———— Zariku, <i>takkanakku</i> of
Gimil-Sin	7 "	Ashur
Ibi-Sin	25 "	
5 kings	117 "	

KINGDOM OF ISIN		KINGDOM OF LARSA		FIRST KINGDOM OF BABYLON		ASSYRIA.	
Ishbi-Irra,	34 years	Naplanum	21 years	—Sumu-abum	14 years	—Ilushuma	
Gimil-Alishu,	10 "	Emišu	28 "	Sumu-la-ilu,	36 "	—Irishum I	
Idin-Dagan,	21 "	Samum	35 "				
Ishme-Dagan,	20 "	Zabaia	9 "				
Libit-Ishar	11 "	Gungunum	27 "				
Ur-Enurta,	28 "	Abi-sare	11 "				
Bur-Sin II,	21 "	Sumu-ilum	29 "				
Iter-pisha	5 "	Nur-Adad	16 "				
Irra-imitti	7 "	Sin-idinnam	6 "				
?	6 months	Sin-iribam	2 "	Zabum,	14 "		
Enlil-bani	24 years	Sin-iqisham	5 "				
Zanbia	3 "	Šilli-Adad	1 "				
?	5 "	Warad-Sin	12 "	Apil-Sin,	18 "		
?	4 "						
Sin-magir	11 "						
Damiq-ilishu	23 "						
16 kings 225 years 6 months							
		Rim-Sin		Sin-muballit,	20 "	—Shamshi-Adad I	
				—Hammurabi,	43 "		
				Samsu-iluna,	38 "		
				Abi-esbu',	28 "		
				Ammi-ditana,	37 "		
				Ammi-zaduga,	21 "		
				Samsu-ditana	31 "		
		14 Kings	263 "	11 Kings	300 "		

APPENDIX.

IN the preceding pages, and in the list of dynasties, any attempt to fix *absolute* chronology has been purposely avoided. It may, however, be pointed out that the reconstruction of the Assyrian king list, combined with the chronological notes given by various Assyrian kings, and the known synchronisms with the first dynasty of Babylon, offer a new and promising means of approaching the early dynasties of Sumer and Akkad. Thus, Esarhaddon (B.C. 681-668) records¹ that Shalmaneser I lived 580 years before his time, *i.e.*, $680 + 580 = 1260$ B.C. roughly. But Shalmaneser I himself states² that one Shamshi-Adad preceded him by 580 years, and that Irishum lived 159 years before this Shamshi-Adad. By addition, therefore, the date of Irishum, according to Shalmaneser I, was $1260 + 580 + 159$, *i.e.*, about B.C. 2000. Tukulti-Enurta I, son of Shalmaneser I, has been assigned on other grounds to the period about B.C. 1260-1240. It is interesting, therefore, to find that this king also gives³ a date for Hushuma, the father of Irishum, 780 years before his own time, *i.e.*, $1250 + 780 = 2030$ B.C., which agrees very well with Shalmaneser's date for Irishum. It is true that Esarhaddon, in the passage already quoted, gives the intervals Shalmaneser I—Shamshi-Adad as 434 years, and Shamshi-Adad—Irishum as 126 years, thus obtaining a date of B.C. 1820 for Irishum. There is thus a conflict of evidence, but in view of the higher antiquity of Shalmaneser, and the confirmation of his dating by his son Tukulti-Enurta I, it seems better to reject the version of

¹ Meuser-Schmidt, *Kalkschriffttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, No. 51, col. II, ll. 12-32.

² *Ibid.*, No. 13, Reverse, col. III, 32—col. IV, 4.

³ *Mittheilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 54, p. 23 sqq.

Esarhaddon. If, then, Ilushuma lived about B.C. 2035, an approximate date for Sumu-abum, the founder of the first dynasty of Babylon, is automatically obtained, and the chronology can be reckoned back to Ur-Engur without more inexactitude than may have been already involved in the preceding calculations. Incidentally, Bur-Sin I of Ur is known¹ to have been the contemporary and overlord of Zariku, one of the very earliest recorded rulers of Ashur. Even beyond this point a rough approximation might also be made to dates as far back as the dynasty of Akshak. But it seems better to abstain, at present, from anything more than this general sketch of a possible new method of inquiry.

¹ *Mitteil. d. deutsch. Or.-Gesell.*, 54, p. 16.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

WHEN the foregoing pages had already reached their final form in the press, there appeared in the *Expository Times* of June, 1921, p. 410, an article entitled "The Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad," to which the author, Prof. LANGDON, very kindly directed my attention. While, therefore, it was by that time impossible to make any alteration in the text of this essay (pp. 29 and 37), it seemed necessary to take account of certain additional information concerning the Dynasty of Agade, which is supplied by a still more recent discovery of Dr. LEGRAIN. Manishtusu and Naram-Sin are now known to have reigned 7 and 56 years respectively, and it is certain that the house of Sharru-kin ruled in regular succession from father to son through five generations down to Shar-gali-sharri, for a period of 157 years. This number agrees exactly with that which is given for the Sargonid family by POEBEL's text no. 3, Col. VIII, 5, and no further doubt remains concerning this part of the dynasty. The gap which was assumed (p. 29) to occur between Manishtusu and Naram-Sin does not exist. The object of this assumption was to supply another king who should complete the number of 12 which is given in the summary. Here, therefore, the new information raises a difficulty—the list of names is now complete, but there are only eleven. Further, the duration of the dynasty, given in the summary as 197, is actually 196 by addition of the individual reigns, including the 3 years of the 4 "usurpers." As the figures for the Sargonid house are checked by an independent summary, as mentioned above, the inaccuracy must occur in the latter part of the dynasty. The deficiencies of one king and one year are probably connected

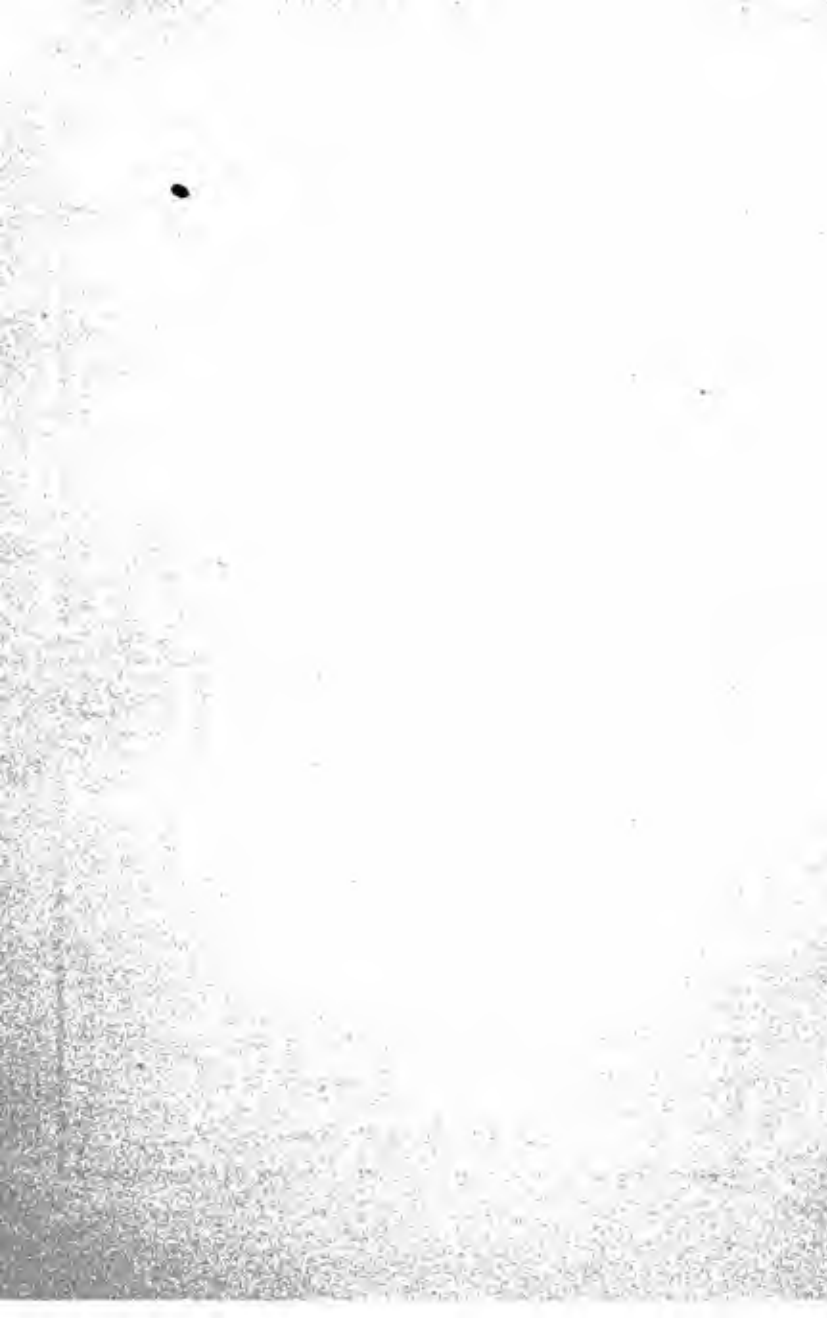
phenomena, but whereas the latter is comparatively unimportant, the loss of a name is more difficult to explain, in view of the precision with which the text states, for instance, the exact number of the pretenders who disputed the throne after the reign of Shar-gali-sharri. But it is indeed a matter of congratulation that these slight uncertainties are all that is now left of the formidable difficulties which once beset this important period of Babylonian history.

KINGDOM OF AGADE.

Sharru-kin,	...	...	55 years.
Rimush,	...	...	15 "
Manishtusu,	...	...	7 "
Naram-Sin,	...	...	56 "
Shar-gali-sharri	...	...	24 "
Igigi	Imi	}	...
Nanum	Elulu		
Dudu, ...	...	...	21 "
Shudurkib (?)	15 "
<hr/>			
11 kings	196 years.

(according to summaries) 12 kings ... 197 years.

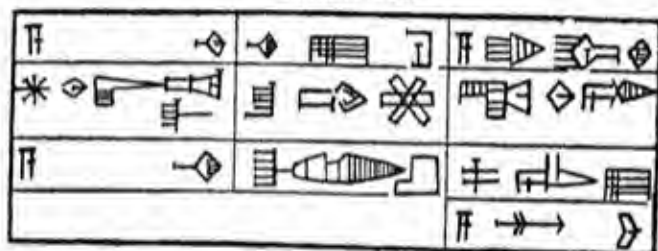






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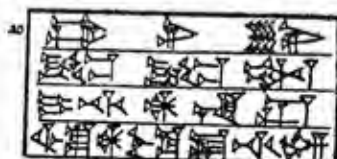
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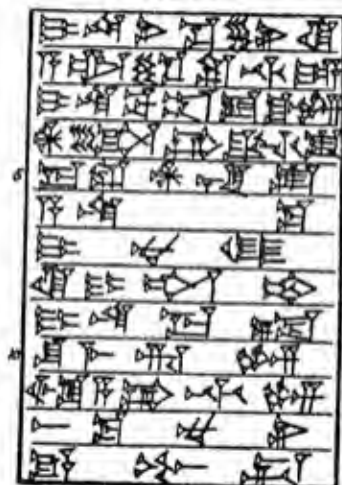
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